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THE COST OF WAR.

In men, in money, in destruction of property,
in pensions, in interest, in maintenance
of "armed peace," etc.

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Is it not evident that a process of simultaneous and progressive arming defeats its own purpose? Scare answers to scare, and force begets force, until at length it comes to be seen that we are racing one against another after a phantom security which continually vanishes as we approach. If we hold, with the late Mr. Hay, that "war is the most futile and ferocious of human follies," what are we to say of the surpassing futility of expending the strength and substance of nations on preparations for war, possessing no finality, amenable to no alliances that statesmen can devise, and forever consuming . . . the well-being and vitality of its people?

SIR HENRY CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN.

Everybody recognizes that the limitation of armaments will gradually have as a corollary the reduction of the hours of labor, the reduction of the price of goods, the development of the country, the improvement of transport, of public instruction, of hygiene, and the adoption of social reforms. People calculate what a country might do in the way of constructing railways, bridges, ports, machinery, schools and museums with merely a part of the money which is devoted to naval and military budgets. . . . The governments have no longer a choice. It is impossible to continue the present system. Only ten years hence people will be astonished that it could have lasted so long.

BARON D'ESTOURNELLES DE CONSTANT.

The Cost of War.

It is very difficult to put into figures, in any satisfactory way, the cost of war. The losses in life, in money, in destruction of property, in the derangement of business, in the curtailing of productive industry, in the impairment of health and the power to labor, are so great and have ramifications in so many directions that anything more than approximate estimates of the economic losses caused by war are impossible. The following figures and statements, which have been prepared because of the large demand for information as to the cost of war in men, money, etc., must therefore be taken with reserve, as only giving in a general way the information desired.

I.

LOSS OF LIFE.

It has been estimated that the aggregate loss of life, in all the wars which have occurred since the beginning of authentic history, has been not less than 15,000,000,-000. This is probably far under the actual losses, as in the earlier centuries wars were incessant and even more pitiless and murderous than those of modern times, when many of the horrors attendant upon battles and campaigns have been suppressed. This vast number of 15,000,000,000 slain in war is equal probably to all the people who have inhabited the globe for the last six hundred years, allowing three generations to the century, and 650,000,000, the estimated population of the world at the opening of the nineteenth century, as the average population per generation for the six centuries.

The usual estimate of the number of men lost in war in the nineteenth century, including those who died of wounds and disease, places it at 14,000,000. Of this

number the Napoleonic campaigns, extending from 1796 to 1815, are responsible for about six millions (seven millions some estimate it), not less than two and a half millions (Lafayette said three millions) of whom were Frenchmen, the very flower of the young manhood of the nation. The other three and a half millions were Italians, Germans, Austrians, Russians, Englishmen, Spaniards, Turks, Arabs, etc.

At the close of the Napoleonic wars there was a period of forty years of general peace in Europe, and another similar period at the end of the century. These two periods of European peace, amounting to seventy years, made the loss of life in war in the nineteenth century far less than it had been in preceding centuries, when war in Europe was practically incessant.

The war of 1812 to 1814 between the United States and Great Britain cost the two countries not less than 50,000 men in killed and wounded, and probably more.

The war between the United States and Mexico waged from 1846 to 1848 resulted in the loss of at least 50,000 men, the majority of whom, on the United States side, perished from disease.

The Crimean war of 1854 to 1856, in which France, England, Piedmont, Turkey and Russia took part, cost the five nations at least 785,000 men, nearly 600,000 of whom (Russians more particularly) died from sickness and suffering occasioned by the long, hard marches and exposure in other ways.

In the Italian war of 1859, Austria, France and Piedmont, the three countries engaged, lost 63,000 men. Besides this the Franco-Sardinian army alone had over 100,000 soldiers disabled by disease.

The short Schleswig-Holstein war in 1864 resulted in the loss of 3,500 men to Denmark, Prussia and Austria.

The losses in the American Civil War, 1861 to 1865, have been variously estimated, for the North and the South together, at from 800,000 to 1,000,000. The latter figure is probably none too large to cover all the deaths, including those from wounds and disease, and the permanently disabled.

The brief war between Prussia, Austria and Italy in 1866 entailed a loss of 45,000 men.

In the European expeditions, from 1861 to 1867, to Mexico, Morocco, Cochin China, Lebanon, Paraguay, etc., no less than 65,000 men were sacrificed.

In the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 and 1871, one of the swiftest and most terrible conflicts of modern times, the aggregate losses on both sides amounted to not less than 225,000 men, and probably the number was considerably larger, the French losses being about twice as great as those of Germany.

The Russo-Turkish war of 1877 was quite as deadly as that between France and Germany, and the losses reached a total of fully a quarter of a million.

The Zulu and Afghan wars of 1879 left a list of 40,000 lives destroyed.

Of the walk-over war between Japan and China in 1894 and 1895 no accurate statistics have ever been attainable. But in the various battles on land, in which the Japanese cannon and rifles did cruel execution, and in the great naval battle off the mouth of the Yalu river, in which the Chinese navy was practically destroyed, the total number of killed and wounded could not have been much less than 15,000.

The Boer war of 1899 to 1901 between Great Britain and the two South African Republics cost England alone 100,000 men in killed and wounded. The Boer losses were much less, but probably totaled 25,000 or 30,000, and have by some been placed, including the women and children done to death in the reconcentrado camps, as high as 40,000.

In the Spanish-American war in 1898, in which the only serious fighting was in the brief campaign at Santiago, the sea battle off the mouth of the harbor and that of Manila Bay, in which the Spanish vessels were destroyed by the United States fleets, the loss of life was not large, and probably amounted on both sides, including the deaths of the United States soldiers from disease, to not more than 6,000 men. The Philippine aftermath of this war was much more destructive. It cost the lives of from five to ten thousand United States soldiers, many of whom died from the effects of the climate, and of the Filipinos it has been estimated that from half a million to a million perished in the "battles," the

"punitive expeditions," the reconcentrado camps, the village burnings and butcheries, etc.

It is impossible to give in detail any trustworthy statement of the loss of life in a large number of wars, less or greater, of the nineteenth century incident to the operations of Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Russia, Holland, Spain, etc., in their colonial enterprises in different parts of the world. The "weaker races" and native governments have given us no returns of the numbers slain in their uneven conflicts with "civilized" armies. It is well known that these losses have often been very great, amounting in certain instances to wholesale massacres.

The two British opium wars with China, the Sepoy and other wars in India, the Russian movements in Asia, the recent Thibet expedition, the French-Chinese hostilities, the Dutch operations in East India, the Madagascar campaigns, the British expeditions up the Nile and into other parts of Africa, in which natives were "mowed down like grass," the Italian-Abyssinian wars, the Colonial wars of Great Britain, Portugal and Germany in South Africa, the West African exploitations of England, France and Germany, to say nothing of the deeds of the Congo State, the tribal wars in Africa and in parts of Asia, the civil and international wars in South and Central America, the Spanish operations in Cuba, the revolutions in the West Indies, the wars in Hawaii, Samoa, and the other islands of the seas, the Indian wars in the United States,— who can ever reckon up the millions of human beings,— men, women and children,— destroyed in these endless "wars and fightings!" If we add these unnumbered dead to the nearly nine millions set down for the better-known wars mentioned above, we shall probably have gone far beyond the 14,000,000 estimated for the nineteenth century.

The great losses of Russia and Japan in the recent Manchurian war have now become pretty well known. They are frightful. The returns made by the Japanese War Office show 218,000 (roundly speaking) killed, wounded, missing and injured by accident, and 221,000 who died, or were invalidated home, by disease, making a total of 439,000 casualties. Of these, 137,000 invalidated

men recovered. If we allow 52,000 more of the wounded and invalided men to have finally recovered, we have a residuum of 250,000 Japanese killed or permanently disabled by the war. The Russian figures are given as 151,000 killed, wounded and missing, exclusive of the Port Arthur casualties, which were so heavy. The total Russian losses, therefore, including those at Port Arthur and those who died from disease and exposure, will certainly surpass the Japanese, and may safely be put at 300,000, making the joint sacrifice of life of the two nations 550,000 men.

II.

DIRECT COST IN MONEY.

Turning now to the cost of these wars in money, the figures are staggering, and would be more so if they could be fully obtained. Only approximate correctness is claimed for the following statements:

The Napoleonic campaigns, covering nineteen years, in which France, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, Austria, Spain, Russia, Turkey were involved, \$15,000,000,000.

The British-American war of 1812-14, \$300,000,000.

The United States-Mexican war, 1846 to 1848, \$180,000,000.

The Crimean war, 1854 to 1856, \$1,666,000,000.

The Italian war of 1859, \$294,000,000.

The Schleswig-Holstein war of 1864, \$34,000,000.

The American Civil war of 1861 to 1865, North and South, \$8,000,000,000. (A recent estimate places the cost of this war, including pensions and interest since paid, at \$13,000,000,000.)

The Prussian-Austrian war of 1866, \$325,000,000.

The Expeditions to Mexico, Morocco, Cochin China, etc., 1861 to 1867, \$200,000,000.

The Franco-Prussian war of 1870 to 1871, \$3,000,000,000.

The Russo-Turkish war of 1877, \$1,100,000,000.

The Zulu and Afghan wars of 1879, \$150,000,000.

The China-Japan war of 1894 to 1895, \$60,000,000.

The British-Boer war of 1899 to 1901, \$1,300,000,000. (Great Britain, \$1,250,000,000; Boer Republics [estimated], \$50,000,000.)

The Spanish-American-Philippine war of 1898 to 1902, \$800,000,000. (To the United States for five years [Edward Atkinson's estimate], \$700,000,000; to Spain and the Philippines [estimated], \$100,000,000.)

The Russo-Japanese war of 1904 to 1905, \$1,735,000,000. (To Russia, \$935,000,000; to Japan, \$800,000,000.)

It is impossible to secure statistics which will enable one to estimate closely the aggregate money cost of the many "little" wars, of which the nineteenth century was so full, the South and Central American conflicts, the South African Colonial wars, the Opium wars, the Egyptian, Soudan, Congo, Madagascar, Hawaiian, Samoan, East Indian, Thibet, West Indian and others, reference to which has been made above. But the sums consumed in these wars have certainly mounted up into the billions. In six years of these "little" wars — the Chitral (1895), the Ashanti (1895 to 1896), the Mashonaland and Matabeleland (1896 to 1897), the Soudan (1896 to 1899), North-west India (1897 to 1898), etc. — Great Britain used up \$50,000,000. And Great Britain alone had more than eighty of these wars during the century, or an average of nearly one a year for the whole hundred years. On these she must have spent not much less than \$1,000,000,000. If we should add to this sum what France, Italy, Germany, Russia, Austria, Spain, Portugal, Holland, Belgium and Denmark have spent in similar enterprises, what the South and Central-American wars have consumed, and the expenses of the other expeditions and conflicts of this kind in different parts of the world, the sum total would be not less than three billions of dollars, and probably much nearer five billions of dollars.

Forty thousand millions of dollars is a sum so vast that the mention of it leaves only a confused impression upon the mind; but that is about what the nations have paid in solid cash in *a single century* for the folly and wickedness of their quarrels and fightings, their mutual injustices and slaughters. But this is not by any means the whole of the huge "butcher's bill," as we shall see.

III.

COST IN DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY.

If it is difficult to determine with even approximate accuracy the cost of war in direct money outlay, it is still harder to ascertain the waste which it occasions through immediate destruction of property. Here almost no figures are available. General Sherman estimated that property to the amount of at least three hundred millions of dollars was destroyed outright by his army during the march to the sea. In all the districts where the campaigns of the war were carried on, especially in the early part of it, before Lieber's rules were put into force, and where the famous raids were made, there was much inevitable destruction of property — crops, fences, railroads, timber, bridges, buildings in city and country, horses, cattle, sheep, poultry, and what-not. Only omniscience could bring together and tabulate the losses thus caused during the four years of the great civil struggle. On the sea the destruction of commerce by the Southern cruisers built and fitted out in English ports was widespread and serious. Great Britain paid for this loss, as the result of the Alabama arbitration, \$15,500,000. The indirect losses to our commerce, which were kept out of the arbitration, were estimated by Lord Granville at over four billions of dollars. Besides this, there was, of course, much direct destruction of property through the operations of the fleets about the Southern coasts. It is altogether probable that the loss to the nation as a whole, North and South, in these ways, was from one-third to one-half as much as the total direct money expenditures.

In the past century, especially towards its close, the destruction of property in war was of course much less than it had been in previous times. International law has, theoretically at least and often in fact, made private property on land immune from seizure and destruction in war time. The Russo-Japanese war, therefore, costly and deadly as it was, resulted in comparatively small destruction of property, though at Port Arthur and in the region of the great army movements in Manchuria there was necessarily much property swept away, however

careful the commanders were to observe the "laws of war." In the Philippine campaigns and the Boxer "punishments" destruction of property was large, as was the case also in the Boer war, where the "farm burnings" recalled the cruel days when nothing was sacred in the eyes of ravaging armies.

The Franco-Prussian war, the Russo-Turkish, the Crimean, the Italian, the Austro-Prussian, the Danish, the Mexican, the Opium, the British-American of 1812, and the numerous colonial wars of the century left each its sad legacy of destroyed property, the amount of which can never be calculated.

The Napoleonic wars, a hundred years ago, in which "laws of war" were not much in evidence, were immensely destructive of property. In some of the campaigns the losses through the burning of cities and the plundering done by the soldiers probably equaled, if they did not surpass, all that was paid out in money. Back of that time, through the Middle Ages and the early periods of history, when war was incessant and armies lived largely off the countries through which they passed, and sacked and pillaged cities, the destruction of property attending warfare was always very great.

It would possibly be beyond reason to say that, taking the centuries together, war has consumed in destruction of property, works of art, etc., as much as it has cost in money. But the loss in this way has been enormous, and in many directions civilization has thus been incalculably enfeebled and retarded. History justifies General Sherman's statement that "generally war is destruction and nothing else."

IV.

THE AFTER-COST AND INDIRECT ECONOMIC LOSS CAUSED BY WAR.

But there is still another field in which the cost of war is in the long run very much greater than the direct money expenditures and the immediate loss in destruction of property combined. The cost of a war does not stop when hostilities are over and the armies have returned home. Its burdens continue indefinitely in

pensions, in interest, in prostrated business and disordered finance, in the absence from productive occupations of the men who have been destroyed, and in the heavier military burdens imposed by the preparation for future hostilities, the dread of which is left behind.

The money paid out by our government in pensions since the Civil War closed forty-two years ago, to say nothing of the cost of soldiers' homes, has already amounted to more than \$3,000,000,000. Before we are through with it we shall have paid in this way not less than \$5,000,000,000, or much more than one-half the total war expenditures, North and South. In interest on the public debt — nearly all war debt — the government has paid out during the same period not less than \$2,500,000,000. Our interest bearing debt is still \$925,000,000 in round numbers. On this the yearly interest bill is about \$25,000,000, and this interest account, decreasing of course, we shall still carry for many years. In addition to these government expenses, the States have during the same period paid out in bounties and to indigent soldiers and sailors sums aggregating probably more than \$800,000,000; Massachusetts having expended in this way about \$50,000,000 and New York over \$200,000,000.

If we should apply these calculations to the great European powers and their wars of the past century,—to Great Britain, France, Italy, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia and Turkey,—we should find the after-cost of their wars in pensions, soldiers' homes and interest to be in the aggregate something fabulous. Their pension list is relatively much less than ours, for some of them do little for their broken-down soldiers. In others the care of invalid soldiers, in special homes or otherwise, makes a heavy item. But their interest account on their national debts, which again are in the main war debts, is very large. The French debt is, in round numbers, about \$6,000,000,000. The interest on this is over \$200,000,000 a year. Thus in the thirty-five years since the Franco-Prussian war, which cost her, including the \$1,000,000,000 indemnity to Germany, not less than \$3,000,000,000, she will have paid out, in interest alone, a sum from two to three times the original

cost of that war, or, reckoning the interest on only the \$3,000,000,000, a sum fully equal to the cost of the war.

The nations of Europe taken together now have, and have had for a generation, war debts aggregating over \$30,000,000,000. On this they pay out annually in interest more than \$1,000,000,000, or \$35,000,000,000 since the great wars of the third quarter of the nineteenth century closed. The Boer war has increased Great Britain's debt \$800,000,000; the Russo-Japanese war the debts of the two nations some three-quarters of a billion each. Here is a new interest account to the three nations of about \$60,000,000 a year, to run on indefinitely into the future.

We must also charge to the account of the European wars alluded to above a large part of the enormous sums spent annually in maintaining the great armaments, for these armaments have grown largely out of the jealousies, fears and hatreds engendered by the conflicts. For this maintenance of armaments Europe has spent for many years about \$1,000,000,000 per year, and is paying considerably more than that at the present time. In this direction our Spanish-Philippine war has cost us a very heavy after-bill. In 1897, just before that war came on, our army department was costing the nation \$49,000,000 annually and the navy \$35,000,000. In 1906 the war department expenditures were \$94,000,000 and those for the navy department \$111,000,000, an increase of nearly two hundred per cent. in the former and of over three hundred per cent. in the latter.

The loss occasioned by war in the derangement of business and the disordering of finance is immense, but there are almost no data for determining it. We have already alluded to Lord Granville's estimate that the indirect damage done to the United States by the Southern cruisers was over \$4,000,000,000. During that war the cotton industries of England and France suffered heavily from the cutting off of the supply of cotton, many families were bankrupted, and the operatives in the factories brought into great suffering. The general disturbance and damage to international trade by the blockading of the Southern ports, etc., was likewise immense. During the Franco-German

war all trade between the two nations was arrested, and that between them and other nations was much diminished or impeded, entailing loss in many directions. When the Spanish-American war broke out in 1898 travel and trade between this country and European ports were much impaired, involving serious loss to the steamship companies and to many lines of business. The Russo-Japanese war stopped many of the freight ships between our western ports and the East. In disordered finance, as is well known, war also imposes huge losses. The wreckage of fortunes, large and small, in the great crisis of 1873, brought on by the falling and readjustment of the prices which had prevailed during and after the war, brought a very severe strain on the nation, and left multitudes of homes in distress, if not in dishonor. Something of the same economic disorder and wreckage, in one way or another, accompanies every serious war.

The economic loss to a nation through the destruction of its men in war has never been appreciated, hardly even suspected. The old, false theory that war is a blessing because it prevents surplus population has blinded men's minds to one of the very worst evils of the system. The men killed in our Civil War were nearly all young and vigorous, and of the best American blood. If they had lived they would have become the heads of families, the farmers, the craftsmen, the men of trade and commerce, the professional men of the next generation. They would have become, many of them, important factors in the opening up and development of the great untamed West. If we place the earning power of the million men, North and South, who perished in the war, at the low figure of only \$400 per man annually, the nation lost by their death \$400,000,000 per year. In forty years, therefore, which they would have lived on the average, they would have been worth to the nation the enormous sum of \$16,000,000,000. If we cut down this amount one-half, we have still, through the perishing of these men, lost economically in forty years a sum equal to the total original cost of the war to the nation. And besides this, the offspring of these men would have continued their economic value to the nation after their death. It is startling to think what the world might

have been economically at the opening of the present century if the war system could have been done away with a hundred years ago, a system of pacific settlement of disputes and of general international coöperation adopted and the 14,000,000 of young men slain in the wars of the century saved to their different countries. Their earning power, at \$300 each per year, would have been \$5,200,000,000 annually. In forty years, the average of their earning lives, they would have increased the wealth of the world by \$208,000,000,000, a sum equal to nearly twice the entire estimated wealth of the United States, and fully equal to the combined wealth of Great Britain (colonies excluded), France, Germany, Russia and Austria-Hungary.

V.

ANNUAL COST OF THE PRESENT "ARMED PEACE"
OF THE WORLD.

The following figures, giving the annual cost of the armies and navies of the principal military and naval powers, including extraordinary expenses, are the latest official ones that can be secured. They are compiled mostly from the "Bulletin of Military Notes II," issued by the United States government in 1904:

COUNTRY.	ARMY.	NAVY.	TOTAL.
Austria-Hungary	\$66,805,617	\$10,375,433	\$77,181,050
Belgium	11,061,742	—	11,061,742
Bulgaria	4,662,072	—	4,662,072
Denmark	3,144,970	2,050,905	5,195,875
France	137,560,648	62,694,904	200,255,552
Germany	159,483,703	58,711,515	218,195,218
Great Britain	178,709,355	172,287,500	350,996,855
Greece	3,679,404	—	3,679,404
Italy	47,986,200	21,865,535	69,851,735
Japan (1905) exclusive of Russian war expenses)	21,000,000	16,413,063	37,413,063
Netherlands	10,608,249	6,603,510	17,211,759
Norway	4,772,418	1,236,200	6,008,618
Portugal	27,847,745	4,187,859	32,035,604
Roumania	7,509,689	254,310	7,763,999
Russia	263,939,044	92,504,992	356,444,063
Serbia	3,694,868	—	3,694,868
Spain	35,233,940	7,188,340	42,422,280
Sweden	14,398,860	5,511,800	19,910,660
Switzerland	5,710,451	—	5,710,451

United States (1906) }
 Including deficien- } \$83,663,276 \$116,038,805 \$199,702,081
 cies, salaries, etc. }

VI.

NATIONAL DEBTS OF THE TWENTY-THREE PRINCIPAL POWERS.

From summary prepared by the Bureau of Statistics,
 Department of Commerce and Labor.

Argentina	\$479,765,265
Austria-Hungary	1,107,464,025
Belgium	544,052,979
Brazil	510,693,938
Chile	107,304,151
China	613,140,000
Denmark	66,033,849
France	5,856,703,403
Germany and German States	3,296,470,400
Great Britain	3,885,166,333
Italy	2,560,605,000
Japan	1,250,000,000
Mexico	175,945,345
Netherlands	463,150,904
Norway	70,376,355
Portugal	819,886,580
Russia (before the late war)	3,414,061,734
(Now over four billions.)	
Spain	2,061,389,972
Sweden	92,833,336
Switzerland	17,400,567
Turkey	723,125,400
United States	925,011,637
Venezuela	49,335,647

If we add to this the debts of the twenty-three other powers, the total of the national debts of the world is found to be the colossal sum of \$34,633,164,406. The significance, in this connection, of this vast sum, the interest on which is over one billion dollars per year, is that practically the whole is chargeable to war and militarism.

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